


In fact

For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

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In Fact in Congress

MEMBERS of Congress not only read IN FACT but they use its information and print it in the Congressional Record.

For the second time in its short existence IN FACT was quoted in the House in a debate on being a good neighbor to Latin America. Said Rep John M Coffee of Washington:

"The State Department could stand a lot of house cleaning." He added we should "put our democracy into our diplomacy." "Labor and liberals," he continued, "can not count on any help from the Tory press, as George Seldes tells us every week in IN FACT. The publishers are for the fine phrases but not for higher wages for Latin American workers." Mr. Coffee concluded: "To paraphrase George Seldes in IN FACT of March 10, this Republic is in a position to extend its aid and open its markets in exchange not only for promises of democracy from Latin America's dictators, but for actions establishing democracy there now. Those who block this are the betrayers of the good neighbors"—(Congressional Record, March 25 p. A1477-81).

Rep Coffee paraphrased IN FACT's report that Britain's fate depended on America's aid, and that Britain could take actions towards becoming a democracy, instead of merely promising democracy after the war, in exchange for being saved by the US.

IN FACT now has more than a score of Senators and twice as many Representatives among its subscribers. Among newest subscribers is Senator Langer of North Dakota who writes his approval of IN FACT.

Now It's Arnold Constable

ALMOST every week the Federal Trade Commission notifies a NY dep't store one of its ads is wrong or fraudulent. Every week 90% of the NY papers suppress all Gov't cease and desist, fraud, other orders and stipulations. Once a month Editor & Publisher declares that dep't stores have no influence in the press.

On April 10 the FTC told Arnold Constable & Co, NY dep't store, that its alligator shoes for women were falsely advertised. No respectable alligator would have had anything to do with them. Only one paper reported the news. The great thundering Times, which has been criticized often for suppressing news affecting dep't stores, and criticized again for burying fraud orders on its financial page, had a new trick up its sleeve last Thursday. It printed the alligator story on page 47. Under guess what heading? Under "Weather Reports." Nice weather for alligators.

Lady Astor, Anti-Semite

THE center of Hitlerism in Britain was the Cliveden estate of Lord and Lady

"Convoys Mean Shooting and Shooting Means War,"

Says Roosevelt, but Clamor for Convoys Increases

AMERICANS who want to know when the unofficial entry of the US into the war will become official, when American blood as well as treasure will be spilled, will have their answer shortly when Congress decides on the convoy question.

"Convoys mean shooting and shooting means war," President Roosevelt is reported as telling his press conference (Washington correspondent Arthur Krock, NYTimes April 6).

A "clamor" for convoys is reported by newspapers and radio commentators.

Readers must bear in mind the fact (proved by the conscription campaign, the Lease-Lend campaign, etc) that an atmosphere is created and public opinion is made largely by the press. Headlines, slanted stories, editorials, cartoons, even letters to the editor, are used to prepare the American people for certain actions, just as they are in countries which have official censorships and official control of the press. The majority of US newspapers favored conscription and the Lend-Lease Bill. Interventionist newspapers are now clamoring for convoys.

On the other hand an isolationist paper, NYDNews, says (April 13) that the best advice from Washington is that "the American public is being mentally readied up, by propaganda of assorted kinds, for US Navy convoy services to buttress the 'bridge of ships' to Britain, that convoying will begin soon, that this will lead to German submarine and dive bomber and surface raider attacks on our ships, and that we shall be officially in the war about three months from now. The further general feeling in Washington is, our informant says, that it will take five to seven years after our entry into the war for the US and Great Britain to beat Hitler."

"Prepare the Mind of America" for Convoys

When William Allen White retired from the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies he said that convoys would mean the beginning of bloodshed. The President of the United States confirms it. Nevertheless the Committee announces a rally May 7 to help "prepare the mind of America for the convoying of goods across the Atlantic."

The NYTimes, interventionist, publishes almost daily items about convoys. Sample headline (April 13): US ACTS TO PROTECT STRATEGIC GREENLAND. A SITE FOR BASES TO GUARD AMERICA AND, PERHAPS, TO CONVOY SHIPS.

George Morris, columnist, writes: "The final step [in US aid] calls for invasion of the continent—American airplanes, American ships, and finally an American expeditionary force. So ardently has the President carried on his program that he is able to say that he is obeying the demand of the people, who never even thought of being involved in the war and resented the charge that the President was leading the country into war." (Quoted from Memphis Commercial Appeal.)

On the other hand the American Peace Mobilization repeats the words of President Roosevelt by informing the 5,000 delegates to its recent meeting in NY (boycotted almost 100% by the press) that convoys mean war, and that each must help organize the campaign against convoys. "The American people today," Frederick Vanderbilt Field, APM executive sec'y, said, "are confronted with a sudden accelerated campaign to terrorize and victimize them into sanctioning the use of American warships as convoys."

Say American Blood Will Flow

Isolationists, interventionists, pacifists, neutrals agree that the most important facts about World War II today, so far as America is concerned, are:

1. The sinking of merchantmen bound for Britain is the most vital problem of the present war, much more vital than the Balkans or Egypt.
2. The general admission by financial newsletters, columnists, commentators, Congressmen and others (but not headlined in the press) that American blood will flow once convoys begin and Hitler attacks them.

Dow, Jones & Co financial newsletter "Trends" believes that the President has "moved us a long way" in the direction of active or "shooting" war; it adds:

"Guesses as to when war will actually be upon us are rampant in the nation's capital, and talk is heard about 'Fateful April'."

Radio commentator Albert Warner said that Washington is using the term "escorting," shunning the word "convoys."

Both Sides Agree War Depends on Tonnage

Everyone from Churchill to the American Peace Mobilization admits that the biggest question of the war is tonnage losses and the plan to convoy merchantmen. This, incidentally, was the secret of World War II; when it was over Tirpitz, Scheer and other admirals told IN FACT's present editor that if they had built more submarines, fewer battleships, they would have won easily. Newspaper readers can decide for themselves whether Britain or Germany is winning if they can get the facts of tonnage losses.

According to Churchill: "Only the resources of America's shipbuilding industry can enable Britain to carry on the full scale warfare into 1942. . . . This menace [U-boats and raiders] must be overcome if the life of Britain is not to be endangered. . . . The threat of U-boats and surface raiders is entirely a question of adequate escorts for our convoys."

"These are times of desperate grimness," cables a correspondent; "so far as England is concerned this war has now become a matter of food and ships."

At present the slogan in Washington is still "all aid short of convoys," with a test being made of public opinion towards convoys.

Beginning April 10, day of Churchill's desperate plea headlined **CHURCHILL STRESSES NEED FOR US NAVY CONVOY** (NYTimes) many radio commentators either endorsed convoys or stated that the clamor for them was growing.

The facts about British tonnage are: Britain has a total of 25,677,399 and its loss to date has been about 5,000,000. The latest weekly tonnage admitted lost by Britain on April 9 was 77,575; at the same time the revised figure of losses for the week of March 16 officially admitted was 146,098 tons, which the NYT called a "staggering sum."

Chairman Emory S Land of the US Maritime Commission, broadcasting over Columbia, said that sentiment for convoys for ships to Britain is increasing. When the US got going, presumably by 1942, Chairman Land said we could supply 3,500,000 to 4,000,000 tons annually.

The Nazis claim they have sunk considerably more ships than Britain admits. Since German naval communiques are notoriously untruthful—Hitler is the author of the statement that the bigger the lie the more it is believed—German claims may be discounted, but British admissions of desperation (unless made for propaganda purposes) may confirm them. The Nazis said in March they sank 718,000 tons; the British admitted a loss of 400,413 tons in the four-week period Feb 23 to March 23.

The outstanding facts are:

1. The submarine and surface attack on British food and munitions ships has been intensified since the so-called Sitzkrieg became a Blitzkrieg.

2. In 18 months of World War II the Germans have sunk as much tonnage as in 31 months of World War I.

3. The present rate of sinking if continued means 18,000,000 tons will be sunk by 1942, and Britain will be deprived of food and materials for defending herself.

The conclusion from these facts is that Britain either must find a way of ending the menace or obtain US convoys.

How American Public Opinion Is Manufactured

Within a few weeks from now, when the convoy question is settled, it will be possible for the Institute for Propaganda Analysis to determine whether there was a genuine clamor for convoys, whether it was a secretly instituted propaganda campaign, whether the press started it or was party to it, what pressure groups participated, and how the public was as usual not consulted but blamed or credited with the result.

As early as March 20 Arthur Krock reported a presidential order for convoys by the US navy "is the general expectation here, with May the usual date assigned." After repeating the Roosevelt denials that he intended permitting convoys, Krock added, "nevertheless, officials admit privately that conveying will be done if necessary to deliver. . . ."

April 6 Krock discussed the problem generally. The Times headline writer gave it this head: **OPINION IS GROWING THAT OUR NAVAL SHIPS AND PLANES PROVIDE ONLY SURE SAFETY FOR SHIPPING.** There was hardly anything in the story to justify this.

By April 10 the journalistic and radio pack was in full cry. Mrs J Borden Harriman, US minister to Norway, advised a radio audience to put pressure on Congress for convoys. Col William Donovan, Roosevelt's personal envoy to Europe, advocated "delivering the goods." Burnet Hershey on WMCA said that Latin America should send warships to protect its tin, beef and coffee also. Rollin Kirby (NYPost) drew a cartoon of Uncle Sam conveying with the underline, "We can't risk losing them." Columnists Clapper and Simms discussed taking over the Azores, after Greenland. Most columnists okayed conveying to Greenland as a starter.

Sensational Charge by Maritime Union

Although Britain admits its victory or defeat depends on tonnage, and although America realizes that participation or not in bloodshed depends on con-

(Nancy Langhorne of Virginia) Astor. Not all British Nazis were welcome there but enough, including Lords Lothian and Halifax, Chamberlain and the editors of the Astor papers, Times and Observer, to give the name "Cliveden Set" to the wealthy reactionaries who preferred their comfortable estates, their bonds and appeasement to fighting the Fascist ideology. Now Harvey O'Connor reveals in his new book *The Astors* (A A Knopf, publisher, \$3.75) that Lady Astor was also an anti-Semite.

This is strange news. In 1934 she protested Hitlerism, told German women to fight, helped rescue Gerhart Seger and others from a Nazi concentration camp. In 1936 Lady Astor embraced Hitlerism and blamed the anti-Hitler feeling in America on the Jews. (The book incidentally is the greatest story of an American robber baron's family ever written.) April 3 Wm Leach, Labor MP, asked Parliament to order the 300-acre Cliveden estate plowed for vegetables. Lady Astor said in reply that the land was not very good, and the flowers raised are donated to hospitals.

A DuPont in the News

THE DuPonts are second in the Monopoly Investigation's thirteen ruling families of America—Fords are first, Rockefellers third, Mellons fourth. Names make news, and names of millionaires, as every cub reporter knows, are especially newsworthy.

If IN FACT were a daily paper it would print the 1500-word statement of Miss Zara DuPont, her protest against the policy of Bethlehem Steel, made at stockholders meeting April 8. The commercial press which knew Miss DuPont was the sister of the late Senator Coleman DuPont and the first cousin of merchants-of-death Lammot, Pierre and Irenée DuPont, and which nevertheless did not cover the story fully because Miss DuPont was pro-labor, again showed its dishonesty.

Miss DuPont made a great plea for industrial democracy. She demanded that the Wagner Act be obeyed, that prosperity be shared with workers, that no bonuses of more than \$50,000 a year should be paid until every worker gets \$2,000 a year. But apparently all tests of news fail when news is pro-labor; Miss DuPont got a paragraph here and there.

NAM's Preferred Columnists

WE present the following three factual statements without comment:

1. When the National Association of Manufacturers was organized it used pressure on the press and published propaganda to fight labor and especially labor unions. It stated: "We are not opposed to good unionism if such exists anywhere. The American brand of unionism, however, is un-American, illegal and indecent."

2. The Mulhall investigation showed that the NAM in addition to anti-labor activities, actually bribed and corrupted people, from office-boys to legislators. Senator O'Mahoney's Monopoly Investigation Committee's Monograph 26 (IN FACT March 31) named the NAM as the most powerful force in America working to defeat the general welfare of the American people, so that its members could benefit financially.

3. Among the propaganda pamphlets sent out by the NAM to make public opinion for Big Business and against labor is a booklet entitled "What's Going

On In America?" The following writers are quoted by the NAM:

General Hugh S Johnson, Frank R Kent, David Lawrence, Walter Lippmann, Westbrook Pegler, Dorothy Thompson.

Hearst Sues and Is Sued

ACTING under the unwritten law that when a publisher bites a dog, or vice versa, it is not news, the American press is suppressing two suits in which William Randolph Hearst is the main figure.

In Los Angeles Samuel Mann asks that Hearst Consolidated Publications be placed in bankruptcy, that a receiver be appointed, and that an accounting be made to stockholders. IN FACT (July 1) reported that in entering suit plaintiff charged that one of the greatest frauds in US history had been committed, that stockholders had been mulcted of more than \$30,000,000; and that although reporters covered the first hearings and although 300 releases were sent to the leading papers of America, the news was suppressed. IN FACT noted that New York Times, Herald Tribune, Post, World-Telegram, Mirror, News, Journal-American and Sun suppressed it, and asked readers in Chicago, Boston, California, etc to send in the facts. All letters said the story was suppressed all over the country.

Fraud was charged in the following alleged transaction: Assets carried on Hearst books at \$38,000,000 were written up to \$75,000,000; Hearst received Consolidated stock valued at \$20,000,000 plus a \$45,000,000 note, paid in cash from stock sales; later Hearst received \$65,000,000 in stock and cash for assets carried on his own books at \$36,000,000. (Editor & Publisher, which takes Hearst advertising, and gives him one to four pages of free notices and pictures on birthdays and anniversaries, ran just 2-inches of this story.)

Friday Answers Hearst

IN the second suit Hearst says he was libeled by the liberal weekly Friday in their quarterly "Unbelievable!" The NY newspaper conspiracy of silence was broken by PM which (April 10) printed the following summary of Hearst complaint:

"Mr Hearst, through his attorneys, charges in the complaint that the magazine also represented him as a eulogist of Adolf Hitler. . . . Mr. Hearst, the complaint said, was further represented in the alleged libelous article:

"As a fit subject for abhorrence by right thinking American citizens.

"That he was a promoter of a certain conference of anti-Semites at Asheville, N C. . . .

"That he had advocated strikebreaking. . . .

"That he had distorted news and facts for the purpose of injuring legitimate

voys, which depend on tonnage, no one but the National Maritime Union (CIO) points to the fact that Britain is still engaged in commercial shipping for profits.

A survey by Howard McKenzie, NMU organizer, claims that 8,300,000 tons of British shipping is now engaged in non-defense trading, in business not connected with the war.

Joseph Curran, president NMU, writes: "For the past three months [end of 1940] British, Norwegian and American ships have been carrying high test gasoline and the best grades of lubricating and fuel oils to Spain. We know that Spain does not consume more than one-fourth of that oil. The rest is going to Italy and Germany. Thus, while it is almost unbelievable, it is a fact that Italian and German mechanized divisions are operating by means of British oil from Venezuela and American oil from Texas. British and American products are helping to kill British workers."

Copper ingots from British copper mines in Chile go via commercial British ships to Germany via Spain, added Curran.

Some 200 British 5000-ton steamers are at present in the South American commercial service, trying to keep the markets there from falling into other hands.

Another sensational charge has been made by Frederick M Myers, national NMU organizer. Writing in The Pilot Myers said that while Britain was asking for US ships, the British navy was sparing certain Italian merchant ships insured by Lloyds; otherwise "not a single Italian merchant ship could move" in the Mediterranean. Continues Myers:

"If this war were a total war, or if the British were really in earnest in wishing to destroy fascism, if this war were on the up and up—the Italian merchant fleet would have been destroyed in one week after the war started.

"... The British fleet is forbidden to sink Italian ships and cripple Italy's war effort, simply to save money for Lloyds, a company in which many highly-placed Englishmen have financial holdings. . . . Almost all Italian merchant ships are insured by Lloyds. . . . If great losses were inflicted on Italy, Lloyds would suffer—and many big gov't officials in England are connected in one way or another with Lloyds or with Big Business. . . .

"It is a real war all right as proved by the fact men, women and children are being killed. . . . But the aims are phoney. The British have no more intention of destroying fascism than they have of committing suicide."

Foreign Seamen in American Harbors

Coincident with Italy's attack upon Greece, Britain was able to make up a good part of her tonnage losses until then, by annexing the Greek merchant fleet in British harbors. Ships of Greek registry were mostly owned by British capital, and were already in the war trade. Previously, according to estimates in Lloyds Register, England had acquired about 8,000,000 tons in shipping from Norway, Holland and Belgium when those countries were invaded.

Here is the way it worked in the case of Norway: in October 1939 England chartered Norwegian shipping and Germany absorbed the total output of the Norwegian fishing industry. When Germany invaded Norway the Norwegian ship-owners accompanied the government-in-exile to London. There, as the Norwegian seamen in America put it, "the merchant marine took over the government." The Norwegian Trade and Shipping Mission, composed largely of shipowners, came to America to transfer Norwegian ships to the control of the British Admiralty. To the Norwegian seamen this meant destruction of union standards built up by years of militant action, for conditions on British ships are worse than on any other merchant marine in the world.

False Headlines, Perverted News Reels, Biased

Newspaper Stories, Stir Public Opinion Against Labor

IN response to IN FACT's request for examples of false and misleading headlines, perverted news stories, and bias in editorials aimed against labor, a flood of evidence has reached the editor. Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, Washington, Pittsburgh and other cities have sent in samples. The Hearst press and the Scripps-Howard newspapers were frequently quoted as inflaming public opinion against labor in general and against specific strikes. Quotations from reactionary radio commentators and false captions to strike pictures were included. Editorials blaming violence on labor were plentiful. Redbaiting was universal. Sabotage was blamed on labor.

Here are three sample heads on one story:

1. MAN RUNS WILD IN PLANE PLANT, CAUSING RUIN.
2. INSPECTOR GOES BERSERK, RUINS DEFENSE TOOLS.
3. WORKER SMASHES DEFENSE MACHINES.

No. 1 is from the labor-hating NYSun; No. 2 is from the labor-hating NY Herald Tribune; No. 3 is from the labor-hating NYTimes.

The fact: it was an inspector, not a worker.

It never happens the other way. If a mistake is made it is always against labor, never in labor's favor. Every newspaperman knows the reason why. Reactionary newspapers try to keep only reactionary newspapermen in key positions, men whose reactionary minds will automatically produce anti-labor headlines.

The Hearst press has picked out every photograph which it could label as

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workmen attacking either police or scabs; it did not publish pictures of enraged police cracking the skulls of workingmen who were already arrested and handcuffed. The Scripps-Howard papers published daily editorials against labor. The NYTimes ran a three-column heading, FORD SABOTAGE IS CHARGED. Thus public opinion is created by distortion. Compare Times headline with PM's: NOBODY SAW SABOTAGE . . . COURT ENJOINS PICKETS ANYWAY. Incidentally, judges also pay off the men who put up the \$20,000,000 election funds for the Republican and Democratic parties by issuing injunctions against labor.

Chicago Tribune ran Allis-Chalmers strike on Page 1 daily, redbaiting labor. April 7, when strike was settled, story was placed on p 11, the front page being devoted to war news and a Washington story playing up Rep Hatton Sumners' statement that the US is now a Labor Gov't and that the people should "tear apart the men who stand between them and the chance to put effective weapons in the hands of those who are to defend this country."

Newsreels Join in Perverting Public Opinion

Newsreels are made by the movie corporations; the movie corporations are almost without exception now directed by the New York and California banks. They are the leaders in that Big Business which TNEC reports have shown works against the general welfare for its own profits.

The famous newsreel showing Chicago police murdering ten workmen at the Republic Steel plant was suppressed.

Today a Paramount newsreel aimed to slander labor is being shown throughout the country. According to PM (April 10) 86,000,000 will see that "like the big business press, the newsreels had enlarged the news of the strikes all out of proportion to their actual importance. As in the press, labor and not laboring conditions or inequitable wage scales was taking the rap for the important strikes in progress. . . . One issue, which the reporters recorded pretty fully, was a particularly vicious, anti-labor document. That was the Paramount reel."

The Paramount reel reaches a climax with a speech by Rep Leland M Ford of California. This Congressman so falsified the facts about the CIO that IN FACT protested to the Federal Communications Commission and compensating time was given the CIO. Ford again tells numerous falsehoods about France, and Paramount shows news shots which again pervert the facts about the fall of France and its causes.

Facts About Violence in Present Strikes

The four dead in the bloody strike at Bloody Harlan are all union men.

The 1,200 Negroes who remained in the Ford River Rouge plant were previously hired for two purposes: to form a goon or strikebreaking strongarm squad, and to create racial troubles.

In the Harvester Co's Richmond Ind plant a special police force on company property assisted strikebreakers through the picket line. Two pickets were clubbed by police, one knifed by a strikebreaker. Next day police selected 2 girls, 7 men, at random from the picket line, fingerprinted and photographed them, gave them the third degree. Prosecuting attorney invited union leaders to stop picketing and he would "go easy" on the nine charged with riot. The union refused. Prosecutor threatened that severity of penalty would depend on how strikers acted. Picketing is legal under US Supreme Court ruling. But labor had no chance against police, prosecutor, and press. Source: Nat'l Fed For Constitutional Liberties.

In Detroit Judge Tuttle "sarcastically taunted the sup't of the Mich State Police . . . suggesting that his men were cowards because they hadn't used brute force to disperse Ford pickets." (PM April 10.)

In the Bethlehem strike, for one newspaper like the St Louis Post-Dispatch which laid the blame for violence on the police, 500 papers blamed it on labor. It is true that strikers attempted to overturn a car, but it is also true that it was after the car sped away that the police began firing teargas bombs which made the sensational newspaper photographs. Several times the state police charged from the company plant gates in all directions, clubbing everyone without provocation.



HE WON'T RENEW!

You might know this type—he hates the truth—he feels that publications like IN FACT should be suppressed. He won't renew (we're surprised he subscribed in the first place). Frankly he doesn't bother us. But we are concerned with some of our procrastinating subscribers who want and believe in IN FACT, but keep putting off renewing until someone comes along to remind them, or take their halfabuck and mail it in for them. If you're one of our winter soldiers who got others to subscribe, the order of the day is: GET THAT RENEWAL! We'll need it if we are to reach our goal of ¼ million subscribers by January 1942. For every four NEW 50¢ subscriptions or eight 25¢ subscriptions that you send in at one time you will receive a copy of YOU CAN'T DO THAT by George Seldes. YOU CAN'T DO THAT is a 300-page book on violations of civil liberties in the US. It names names, dates and places and is fully documented.

liberal and labor interests in the USA.

"That he was an advocate and symbol of Fascism.

"That he had hired gangsters for the purpose of wreaking violence on labor unions. . . ."

Censorship on Broadway

WOLCOTT GIBBS, sharp-eyed drama critic of The New Yorker, notes that an interesting deletion has been made in one speech in Katherine Cornell's current revival of The Doctor's Dilemma, by Bernard Shaw. When one character says, "You see, when an Englishman borrows, all he knows or cares about is that he wants money," the producers left out the rest of the speech: "— and he'll sign anything to get it without in the least understanding it or intending to carry out the agreement if it turns out badly for him. In fact, he thinks you a cad if you ask him to carry it out under such circumstances. Just like the Merchant of Venice, you know."

Editorial Dep't

ALTHOUGH IN FACT's original prospectus envisioned antagonism from the lunatic fringe and redbaiters, and although IN FACT restated its policy (presenting the news which the commercial press distorts and suppresses), among two or three hundred daily letters it receives two or three which urge redbaiting campaigns.

These writers are referred to the Hearst press, the Saturday Evening Post, and other agencies of the Big Money; also, Father Coughlin, Merwin K Hart, the National Ass'n of Manufacturers and others listed as enemies of American democracy by the Attorney General. IN FACT will do no baiting of any kind, red, white or blue-baiting, no race-baiting, no religion-baiting, no minority-baiting, no alien-baiting.

"Redbaiting is the hall mark of all who oppose the attempts of the American people to secure a more equitable distribution of the wealth their hands and brain produce," once declared the executive council of the American Federation of Teachers.

IN FACT presents labor's standpoint because the press is anti-labor. IN FACT exposes American Hitlerism because the press, exposing foreign Hitlerism, refuses to expose its own friends. IN FACT tells the story of British Fascism because no one else does. This does not place IN FACT with the interventionists or isolationists. IN FACT favors no party but exposes the financial control of the Republican and Democratic parties because 99% of the press, being Dem and Rep, refuses to do so.

Serge Seldes

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